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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 31 March 1993, at 4.40 p.m.

President:	Mr. O'BRIEN	(New Zealand)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. SHIGEIE
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. PEDAUYE
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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The meeting was called to order at 4.40 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the requests contained in letters dated 18 March 1993 from the Permanent Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, documents S/25434 and S/25437, respectively.

Members of the Council have before them communications dated 6, 13, 20, 27 November and 4 December 1992, 12, 16, 19 and 22 March 1993 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, contained in documents S/24783, S/24810, S/24840, S/24870, S/24900 and Addenda 1 to 31, S/25443, S/25444, S/25456 and S/25457, respectively.

(The President)

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25440, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, Morocco, Pakistan, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/25459, letter dated 22 March 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/25450 and S/25467, letters dated 22 and 23 March 1993, respectively, from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): The Security Council is meeting today to adopt a resolution of great political importance. We have reached a turning-point in this tragic crisis, which for 18 months has accompanied the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. Last week we welcomed decisive progress in the search for a peaceful solution, with the signing by two of the parties concerned of the entire Vance-Owen peace plan. All that is lacking now is the agreement of the Bosnian Serb side.

It is in this new context that our Council will today adopt under Chapter VII a resolution authorizing the use of force to ensure compliance

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

with the ban on flights in the no-fly zone established by resolution 781 (1992), the repeated violations of which we have deplored in recent weeks.

It is essential that the Serbian side understand that a new stage in the conflict ravaging the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been reached, and that the Security Council has decided to have recourse to force to see that its decisions are respected. The resolution we are about to adopt will mark the involvement in the conflict of new actors - States or regional organizations arrangements - which will intervene in new circumstances, as peacemakers and not simply peacekeepers.

As regards the means that the Security Council seeks in order to implement its decision, my delegation wishes to tell you, Sir, how pleased it is that a balance has been struck between the technical necessity of setting up effective military structures and the political need to place them under the authority of the Security Council, in close coordination with the Secretary-General. We believe that these principles should serve as a model for future peace-keeping or peacemaking operations, to be carried out with Member States acting in their national capacity or in the framework of regional organizations or arrangements.

In conclusion, I wish to stress solemnly that the Belgrade authorities and the Serbian leaders taking part in the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina must now make a choice before the international community and before their own peoples. Either the Serbian side quickly signs the entire peace plan proposed by the two Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia or it continues to assume an attitude marked by defiance towards the authority of the Security Council, by adopting delaying tactics with regard to the peace process and continuing

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

"ethnic cleansing". If it chooses the first course, it will be possible to move from a logic of confrontation to a logic of cooperation with the international community, with all that that implies. If it chooses the second, the resolution that we are to adopt will inevitably be followed by similar resolutions.

My delegation, in cooperation with our Security Council partners, is working on a draft resolution that seeks to strengthen the sanctions regime against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which is thus threatened with total economic isolation.

Mr. PEDAUYE (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): Spain is following with anguish and concern the tragic situation throughout the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially in its capital, Sarajevo, and the eastern part of the country, which are subjected to intolerable attacks and harassment. That notwithstanding, the fact that the latest cease-fire agreement in Bosnia and Herzegovina is apparently being respected is a source of satisfaction for us.

The civilian population is the primary victim of this conflict, and their dreadful situation is aggravated by the continual obstruction of relief efforts by Bosnian Serb forces, according to unequivocal reports received from the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

In his letter (S/25456) dated 19 March addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Secretary-General stated,

> "it is becoming starkly evident that a massive humanitarian tragedy may be unfolding in Eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a result of defiance by the Serb elements of the resolutions of the Security Council."
>
> (S/25456, fifth para.)

For its part, the European Community and its States members condemned, in a statement that was made public on 3 March, the atrocities committed in Eastern Bosnia and added their efforts to the pressures exerted by various Governments on those responsible for the situation in order to put an end to those acts and guarantee free access for international assistance to the populations in need.

My country, fully aware of the tragedy the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are undergoing, is striving, to the extent it is able, to improve

(Mr. Pedauye, Spain)

the humanitarian situation in that Republic and is contributing significantly with an infantry battallion assigned to UNPROFOR to escort the convoys organized by UNHCR.

Convinced of our obligation to do everything possible to put an end to this tragedy and of our special responsibility as members of the Security Council, we wish to express our firm determination not to tolerate any non-compliance with the resolutions adopted by this Council.

In this context, we wish to recall that the ban on military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina was established in resolution 781 (1992), adopted on 9 October 1992 and reaffirmed in resolution 786 (1992) adopted on 10 November 1992. Since that time - and several months have elapsed - the Secretary-General has presented a series of periodic reports informing the Council of repeated violations of those resolutions.

Furthermore, in the Presidential Statement of last 17 March, prompted by the aerial bombardment of the towns of Gladovici and Osatica, the Security Council vigorously condemned the violations of the flight ban and called attention to the first violation of resolution 781 (1992), when fighting took place. That statement demanded that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the responsible Serb officials of Bosnia adopt immediate measures to prevent any recurrence of such attacks. The Council also announced that it would continue to examine additional measures that might prove necessary in order to ensure compliance with the relevant resolutions. This is a very serious warning.

My delegation has taken part along with others in the preparation of the draft resolution we are about to adopt and of which we are a sponsor. This is a draft resolution of great political importance. Indeed, with the

(Mr. Pedauye, Spain)

authorization of the use of force, which is implied by the authorization of "all necessary measures" (S/25440****, para. 4), in the event that new violations occur, the Security Council will make manifest its firm determination to ensure compliance with the ban on all flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the sole exception of those that have been authorized by UNPROFOR.

My delegation wishes to underline the gradual approach of this draft resolution, according to which seven days must elapse after its adoption before Member States or regional organizations can take measures of force in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These measures are limited to the airspace of that Republic and to the legitimate exercise of self-defence. Anything outside this scope will require the new authorization of this Council. Moreover, the measures provided for in this draft resolution would not be taken until seven days after the authorization of the use of force, under the terms of paragraph 4 of the draft resolution before us.

In any event, it is my country's fervent hope that the adoption of this draft resolution will have the proper effect and that it will not be necessary for the international community to resort to force. For that reason and to that end, we wish to remind all parties to the conflict and all other interested parties of the need to comply strictly with the resolutions of the Council and of their obligation to refrain from committing new violations or other acts of provocation.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): I take this opportunity to offer my delegation's congratulations, Mr. President, on your outstanding guidance of the debate in this complicated month so full of problems. Your judgement, balance and leadership have been extraordinary in

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

the Security Council's work this month, during which period you and your delegation have presided.

The conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been the subject of numerous Security Council measures aimed at providing solutions to some of its most serious aspects, which have in some instances called for new and ever more complex responsibilities for the United Nations peace-keeping forces.

Venezuela has supported with its affirmative vote each and every one of those measures in the hope that we would be contributing to reducing tensions, stopping the massacre and providing support for the negotiation process. Throughout this terrible conflict, the Council has been able to keep in sight the final objective of restoring peace and securing the minimum conditions for its consolidation, regardless of the complexity or the difficulty of the decisions it has been necessary to take.

Among those decisions, the Security Council is finally taking up again, after almost six months, resolution 781 (1992), whereby it imposed a ban on military flights in the airspace of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the aim of heading off what could have been an extremely grave dimension of this conflict. In retrospect, despite the almost 500 violations, of varying degrees, of this ban, it can be said that the resolution achieved an important objective and that the spread of the conflict by the use of the airspace of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has to a great extent been prevented. Thanks are due to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), and the Member States and regional organizations that have given it their support for their efforts and commitment in achieving this result.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

Everyone knows that not only have the risks of an uncontrolled conflict not disappeared but that, quite the opposite, recent incidents point to the potential for open defiance of the ban at a time when the negotiations are reaching a critical stage. That risk must be averted. Venezuela shares the conviction expressed in this draft resolution that the international community must take steps to minimize that possibility: on the one hand, by a complete ban on flights not undertaken for authorized purposes and, on the other, by the authorization to enforce it through the adoption of all necessary means.

Venezuela will lend its support to this draft resolution because of its preventive character and the express link it makes between the flight ban and the series of measures designed to give effect to the peace settlement. Venezuela hopes that this new measure will fulfil both objectives and that all parties will be able to see the security it provides as an additional guarantee of the Security Council's determination to contribute effectively to the immediate establishment of peace in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has been mercilessly assaulted and brutalized for so long.

If the Security Council fails to ensure respect for the draft resolution we adopt today, it will be very difficult to convince the parties that the Council truly has the ability, will and political resolve to enforce, by all necessary means, such resolutions of real complexity and scope as those it is beginning to consider in the light of the peace plan.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Venezuela for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. OLHAYE (Djibouti): With the acceptance of the Vance-Owen peace plan by all parties to the violent conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina - save of course by the Serbs - the way is now open to realize a cease-fire and peace in that abused country. We have not been in this position before, and a clear message must be sent that the moment will not be lost. Too often in the past, we have witnessed an increase in hostile actions by the Serbs at the very moment when negotiations were thought to be progressing in good faith. The lack of enforcement mechanisms in many of our resolutions has permitted the intransigent party to act with impunity, unafraid of any consequences of its deeds.

That is why my delegation considers this draft resolution on violations of the ban on military flights in the airspace of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a landmark in the Bosnian conflict. It is the first real step towards addressing the actions of the aggressors in this conflict and draws a clear line beyond which further disregard of our efforts and positions will not go unanswered. It is an indication of the growing impatience of the world community with the intransigence of the Serbs and can only act as a powerful symbol of its new resolve.

We feel that it must deter them from the nature and level of their aggression; otherwise they risk the further involvement of the world community in this tragic conflict. Certainly, the arms imbalance which has all along favoured the Serbs can only be called further into question should they be permitted to employ the air to further their ambitions. Hence, however late, the significance of our decision today, which goes a long way towards confronting this intransigence - indeed, a stubborn defiance - with a united stand.

Mr. BARBOSA (Cape Verde) (interpretation from French): In his last statement before the Council on 13 August 1992, with regard to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the head of my delegation, Ambassador Jesus, said:

"All this suffering, all these killings and destruction, and all these atrocities, committed especially against the Bosnian Muslims, are being seen time and again around the world with great indignation and frustration.

"We find it difficult to understand how this could be happening today in any part of the world, how, in this day and age, people can be massacred, be expelled from their homes and have their fundamental rights abused before the very eyes of the international community, which seems to do nothing to come to their rescue.

"The Council itself, on whose action the security of many small nations is supposed to rest, has not gone beyond appeals for peace. There have been many appeals indeed, but they have been to no avail." (S/PV.3106, pp. 5-6)

Seven months have gone by since then, and, despite the efforts of the United Nations, and in particular of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, to promote a negotiated solution to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we have not managed to prevent the continuing deterioration of the situation, which has plunged the people of that country - particularly the Muslim communities of eastern Bosnia - into an enormous human tragedy, to the extent that their very existence is at risk. For such a pass to have been reached, it is clear that those responsible for the tragic situation - that is, the Serbs - have systematically violated all Security Council resolutions, including the one that established a no-fly zone.

(Mr. Barbosa, Cape Verde)

It is now time for the Council to use the authority conferred upon it by the United Nations Charter once and for all to put an end to the awful tragedy of the Bosnia people. Accordingly, my delegation warmly welcomes the draft resolution now before the Council, which sets forth measures to implement our previous decisions with regard to the no-fly zone over the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Without being too optimistic about the military repercussions of this draft resolution - an optimism that could well prove to be unfounded - this draft resolution nevertheless seems to be very important from a political standpoint. Indeed, my delegation is firmly convinced that, as a first step in a process involving a series of other steps necessary to restore peace and security in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, this draft resolution could help us to reach a turning point in this situation and constitutes at the same time a new point from which to move towards the objectives of peace pursued by the United Nations in that country, whose people has been suffering so much.

We believe, however, that the full efficacy of this action will only be achieved if the Security Council decides to broach other measures in the near future, particularly that of banning the use of heavy weapons and placing them under international control. It is in that spirit that we welcomed the signing by President Izetbegovic and Mr. Boban of all the documents arising from the lengthy and laborious negotiations undertaken under the wise and competent guidance of Secretary Vance and Lord Owen. Similarly, we are pleased to see the objective and realistic report submitted by the Secretary-General, who has spelled out the Council's responsibility to contribute through firm and effective action to the restoration of lasting

(Mr. Barbosa, Cape Verde)

peace not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina but in all the countries that were created by the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution now before the Council.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): The draft resolution before the Council today is an important one, and it is being voted on at a very significant moment in the horrendous story of Bosnia and Herzegovina since its independence was established last year. It is important, because it signals that the Council is not prepared to have its resolutions flouted. The Council has been very patient. I know some would say it has been too patient. My delegation does not believe that it has been too patient; we believe that the Council should be slow to authorize the use of force. But combat flights were flown against east Bosnian villages a few days ago, and that was a step too far to tolerate under any circumstances.

The enforcement of the no-fly zone which we, the Council, will authorize today is not directed against any one party. All sides have violated the no-fly zone, although the Serb parties have done so more than any others. Nor does the no-fly zone require the use of force; no force will ever need to be used under this resolution if no flights violate the no-fly zone.

This is a significant moment because the Bosnian Government's signature on the plan of Secretary Vance and Lord Owen, which they signed last week, could mark a crucial turning-point. It is now up to the Bosnian Serb side to do likewise, and to recognize that the security and prosperity of their people can be achieved only at the negotiating table and not on the battlefield.

The British Government, for its part, gives full backing to the Vance-Owen plan, and is now discussing an important new resolution designed to back up that support with the full weight of the international community. We hope that the Serbs in Bosnia, as well as those in the authorities in Belgrade, will get the message. The message is this: If they do not heed the Council, the prospects for them are grim indeed, with increasing isolation,

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

both economic and political. If they do heed the Council's message, then all the republics of the former Yugoslavia will be able to take their places as European States with the prospect of putting the horrors of the past two years behind them.

The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/25440.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

Abstaining: China

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 14 votes in favour, none against, and 1 abstention. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 816 (1993).

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to make statements after the voting.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): Brazil has consistently favoured the settlement of disputes by peaceful and negotiated means and believes that enforcement actions under Chapter VII should be a last resort, after the clear and confirmed demonstration of their necessity. As regards the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, those principles are all the more valid, and should guide our endeavours to assist in the quest for peace and reconciliation in that country.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

The tireless efforts of the Co-Chairmen, Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, in the last seven months have produced a comprehensive and carefully crafted peace plan. Considered in its entirety, the plan provides an appropriate framework for attaining a just and sustainable solution to the tragic conflict raging in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Such a solution must necessarily take into due account the legitimate interests, and preserve the rights of, the three constituent Bosnian peoples. The ongoing diplomatic efforts undertaken in the context of the peace talks must be allowed to succeed, and the Security Council must stand ready to do its part in supporting those efforts.

The delegation of Brazil voted in favour of the resolution adopted today. The establishment of a ban on military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina under resolution 781 (1992) was aimed at ensuring safety for the delivery of humanitarian assistance and at helping to promote a cessation of hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At that time, the Council undertook to consider, urgently, measures necessary to enforce the ban in the event of violations. All parties and others concerned were expected to comply with the terms of that resolution and of resolution 786 (1992), as all resolutions of the Security Council must be complied with, in accordance with the Charter.

Unfortunately, violations have persisted, and, as mentioned in the statement of 17 March 1993 by the President of the Security Council, there has recently been an aggravation in the situation, with UNPROFOR observing the first violations of the flight ban which involved combat activity. Therefore, the adoption of the present resolution derives not only from the non-compliance with previous relevant resolutions but also from the changes perceived in the qualitative nature of the violations.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

The delegation of Brazil attaches particular importance to the fact that, in accordance with the resolution we have just adopted, the implementation of the authorization contained in operative paragraph 4 will be conducted under the authority of the Security Council and subject to close coordination with the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR; the Security Council will be kept thoroughly informed of the relevant actions; the measures to be taken in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the event of further violations will be proportionate to the specific circumstances and the nature of the flights; regional organizations or arrangements involved in the action will be doing so under the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter; and all care will be taken to ensure the safety on the ground of the personnel of the United Nations and of humanitarian organizations.

It is the understanding of my delegation that the measures taken will be of limited duration and that, as soon as the situation warrants it, the Council, which will remain actively seized of the matter, will proceed to review those measures.

Mr. WALKER (United States of America): The United States strongly supported, and indeed co-sponsored, the resolution which the Security Council has just adopted. As members of this Council are already aware, the United States has long been in favour of such a resolution and has worked vigorously in recent days for a resolution that would unequivocally demonstrate the international community's will to enforce resolutions of this Council and agreements signed by the Bosnian parties.

As members of this Council remember, all the Bosnian parties agreed to a ban on military flights over Bosnia at the August 1992 Conference that was chaired by Lord Carrington. The ink was hardly dry on that agreement before violations - the overwhelming majority of which have been carried out by the Bosnian Serbs - began to occur.

(Mr. Walker, United States)

The aerial bombing of Bosnian Government targets by Bosnian Serb forces on 11 March of this year, which the Council eloquently and aptly condemned in its statement of 17 March, is but the latest flagrant violation of the London Conference agreement and the subsequent Security Council resolution on the no-fly zone.

These bombing attacks follow more than 400 other apparent violations since the Council adopted resolution 781 (1992) in October 1992. Confronted with these violations, and the Bosnian Serbs' determination to flout the will of the Council with impunity, we had no choice but to act now.

The Bosnian Serbs must understand that this resolution is evidence of the international community's growing concern and intolerance of their acts of aggression. The credibility of the United Nations and its entire approach to resolving this conflict rests on its willingness to act strongly and effectively, as we are doing through this resolution. We repeat that the United States deplores Serbian aggression against a State Member of this Organization. We will not recognize Serbian attempts to change international borders by force. We will do all in our power to ensure that those who commit unspeakable violations of human rights and international humanitarian law against innocent civilians are brought to justice. This resolution should send the message that if the Bosnian Serbs want to rejoin the family of nations, their behaviour must conform to international norms. We will accept nothing less.

While the international community has a duty to encourage the parties to reach such a settlement, we must also demonstrate that signing pieces of paper without an intent to implement them is not enough. By showing our will to enforce agreements, the Council has today demonstrated our commitment to peace and our resolve to end the conflict.

Mr. CHEN Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The negotiation process presided over by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia is now at a critical stage. We strongly hope that the parties concerned will immediately cease hostilities, effect a genuine cease-fire and seek an early agreement on a settlement plan.

We, in principle, do not oppose the establishment of a no-fly zone in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the consent of the parties concerned, with a view to easing tension and ensuring the smooth conduct of international humanitarian relief activities. However, our principled position on Security Council resolution 781 (1992) remains unchanged. We wish to place on record that we have reservations on the invocation of Chapter VII to authorize countries to use force in implementing the no-fly zone.

Moreover, we note that the Secretary-General of the United Nations sent a letter to the President of the Security Council dated 22 March 1993 stating that the Force Commander of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) had grave concern at the thrust of the relevant provision of the present resolution. He took the view that the enforcement action authorized by the resolution will have negative consequences for the viability of UNPROFOR within its existing mandate.

The Chinese delegation cannot but feel great concern over this. In view of the aforementioned, the Chinese delegation has therefore abstained in the vote on the resolution just adopted.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The delegation of the Russian Federation voted in favour of the Security Council resolution just adopted on the basis of the following considerations.

Seeking to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to ensure the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance, the Security Council, on 9 October 1992, adopted resolution 781 (1992), which established a ban on unauthorized military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Russian delegation believes that no one has the right to violate Security Council resolutions, and yet all three Bosnian parties, notwithstanding the ban, have perpetrated acts that run counter to the demands of the Security Council. In the intervening period, several hundred violations have been reported, and, in a number of cases, they were obviously military in nature. These actions must be halted.

The resolution we have adopted envisages the application of enforcement measures to those who violate the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of course, this includes the possibility of appropriate self-defence measures on the part of the monitoring aircraft. We draw your attention to the fact that the appropriate rules of conduct of the operation must, as stated in paragraph 5 of the resolution, be coordinated with the Secretary-General and with the United Nations Protection Force. The provision of the resolution regarding the 14-day deferral of the start of implementation of the measures envisaged in the resolution is of importance.

We hope that all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina will show due respect for the Security Council of the United Nations and for the measures taken by it to secure conditions of peace for reaching a political settlement. We

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

expect the procedure for securing the no-fly zone to be accompanied by no violations or incidents. The Bosnian Serb side must fully take into account the provisions of paragraph 6 of the resolution, to the effect that, if before the starting date of implementation of the operation, it accepts the proposals put forward by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee, the measures set forth in the present resolution will be subsumed into the measures for implementing that settlement.

The Russian Federation hopes that the adoption of this resolution will send a serious message to all Bosnian parties regarding the resolve of the Security Council vigorously to seek a speedy end to the Bosnian conflict through implementation of the Vance-Owen peace plan. For its part, Russia will continue to do everything to promote the attainment of that goal.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): Resolution 781 (1992), which the Security Council adopted last October and by which it banned military flights over the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was seen at the time as an important element in the efforts to halt and reverse aggression against a State newly admitted to membership of the United Nations. Several months have passed since then, and, rather than coming to an end, the terrible images of the Bosnian tragedy continue to pass before our eyes, haunting us and recalling - even equalling - the horrors of the Second World War.

We see the passage of time also in the nearly 40 notes verbales providing us with information from the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) on observed violations of the relevant Security Council resolutions, which now number nearly 500. Deplorable as it may be, we have grown inured to such reports and hence to the violations themselves.

That familiar pace of events was broken by the Secretary-General's letter of 16 March, which announced the return of an aspect of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina which we thought had been overcome: the merciless bombing attacks on several places in that country. The date of the resumption of these bombings, 13 March, was a turning point in the long series of international efforts to respond to events in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Security Council felt the time had come to take all steps necessary to ensure respect for the no-fly zone over Bosnia and Herzegovina.

But several weeks had to pass before today's adoption of a resolution on that matter. Hungary would have preferred the Security Council to have taken this step much sooner. The resolution on a no-fly zone was adopted in the

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

context of the grave situation prevailing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a situation that poses a threat to international peace and security. We believe the international community must make it known unambiguously that it will not recognize any faits accomplis resulting from the conquest of territory or from "ethnic cleansing".

I want to make it clear that it is not the Serbian community that the world wishes to see punished; it is a political practice of unprecedented harmfulness, an extremely virulent political virus, and those responsible for it.

In a statement issued on 23 March following their Budapest meeting, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Austria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia - countries taking part in the Central European initiative - expressed their horror at the war that continues to beset Bosnia and Herzegovina. They firmly condemned the bombings, which are in flagrant violation of Security Council resolution 781 (1992), and the prevention by Bosnian Serb forces of the delivery of humanitarian aid to those for whom it was destined.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of those eight countries of the region also stated their deep concern at the fact that the conflict could spread beyond its present limits to other areas. They urged a political settlement of the crisis respecting the principles of the inviolability of borders, territorial integrity and sovereignty and guaranteeing full protection of human rights and the rights of minorities.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs considered that military action in the framework of United Nations resolutions was the last resort for ending the war and ensuring, by the use of enforcement measures, the implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions.

Hungary believes that the resolution we have adopted today can be effective in putting to an end a process that threatens a nation with extermination and an independent country with liquidation. We note that the resolution depends on acceptance by all the Bosnian parties of the settlement plan proposed by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. It is therefore clear that whether or not enforcement measures are carried out depends on the position of one of the parties to the conflict: the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Thus, we feel that if aggression continues, and if that party refuses to join with the other signatories of the peace plan, today's resolution should be followed up with other equally firm and committed measures to prevent future acts of provocation or belligerency, inter alia, with respect to the prohibition of the use of heavy weapons, which are the source of great destruction and suffering, and effective international control of such weapons, and with respect to more effective and rigorous control of sanctions already in place against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

If that party is prepared to give up its expansionist and aggressive intentions and put an end to this cruel war, and to sign the settlement plan, the measures set out in today's resolution would form part of the process of implementing the settlement plan.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

This is the moment of truth. We sincerely hope that this time the acts of defiance, manoeuvring and blackmail will come to an end and that reason will prevail.

Mr. SHIGEIE (Japan): The Japanese Government continues to be extremely concerned at the critical situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly in its eastern part. The flagrant violations of Security Council resolution 781 (1992), as reported by the Secretary-General, are a source of great concern.

For that reason, my delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted. Japan fully supports the peace package worked out by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. My Government urges that the Bosnian Serb side sign the relevant documents as soon as possible. We have already waited too long while a great tragedy has continued.

My Government pays a tribute to all the personnel of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the international agencies involved in humanitarian-aid activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We hope the measures the Security Council is authorizing through today's resolution will be implemented in close coordination with the Secretary-General, in order, inter alia, to secure the continuing humanitarian activities in the area.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): My delegation warmly welcomes the adoption of resolution 816 (1993) by the Security Council. We believe that the Security Council's actions as envisaged in the resolution will go a long way towards ensuring the enforcement of a no-fly zone over Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

While the effective enforcement of a no-fly zone over Bosnia and Herzegovina is an important and much desired step by the Council, it is only one element in the series of decisive actions we regard as necessary to end Serbian aggression in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That aggression is characterized by the abhorrent campaign of "ethnic cleansing" and by a brutality of enforcement unparalleled even in the darkest periods of human history. We have witnessed with mounting horror and revulsion a series of massacres, torture, rape, forced explusions, summary executions, the existence of concentration camps, the confiscation of property, the use of siege and the cutting off of supplies of food and other essentials to civilian population centres. All this has been part of a deliberate policy designed to achieve ethnically homogeneous areas and has been executed in flagrant disregard of Security Council resolutions and human-rights obligations.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

Ever since Pakistan had the honour of joining the Council in January this year, we have been urging swift and decisive action to put an end to the Serbian aggression through a variety of concrete measures, including the imposition of a no-fly zone. In the immediate context, however, my delegation expresses the hope that the Council will supplement the action it has so far taken under its relevant resolutions, including the one just adopted, by further authorizing appropriate enforcement measures for the immobilization of heavy weapons in Bosnia and Herzegovina. My delegation believes that this proposed action would be consistent with the relevant provisions of the peace plan relating to military arrangements, would help ensure an immediate cease-fire and would thus contribute positively to the peace efforts made by the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): The Kingdom of Morocco welcomes the adoption of resolution 816 (1993), which undoubtedly marks a turning point in the Council's attitude to the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

My country supported the resolution and worked for some time with all the other delegations to try to have it adopted, so it was no surprise that we sponsored the draft resolution.

While the resolution will not have major effects from the military standpoint, it has great political significance. The Council has finally decided, after mature reflection and many discussions, to take the necessary action and use force to implement its resolutions. I think this was necessary, particularly since the atrocities committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially in eastern Bosnia, have reached an intolerable level.

(Mr. Benjelloun-Touimi, Morocco)

The resolution is also of great importance because it comes at a historic turning point in the crisis of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A few days ago we all welcomed the signing by two parties, the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croats of Bosnia, of the various documents which constitute the Vance-Owen plan.

It was time for the Council to send a very clear message to all the parties, and in particular to the Bosnian Serbs, that it would take all the measures necessary to end the conflict and this tragedy.

The choice for the Bosnian Serbs is very clear. They could cooperate, beginning by signing the various documents that have not yet been signed in the Vance-Owen package, and by fully cooperating in the implementation of those arrangements that have been signed. In that case I think that that party could participate normally in the political life of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and rejoin the international community. On the other hand, the Bosnian Serbs could continue to defy the Security Council, procrastinate and use delaying tactics to avoid signing the various agreements and avoid reaching a political solution. In that case the Security Council, as it has shown by the resolution, is ready to take further enforcement action and to use all the means at its disposal to halt the conflict. In that context, my delegation will participate actively in other measures being prepared by the Council to try to exert pressure on the Bosnian Serbs to sign the agreements.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to make a short statement on behalf of the Government of New Zealand.

In adopting the resolution on the enforcement of the no-fly zone in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Security Council has just taken a

(The President)

significant political step in its efforts to bring an end to the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Five months ago the Council resolved to ban military flights in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since then there have been repeated violations of that ban, culminating in reports of flights involving combat activity earlier this month.

The Council has now, New Zealand believes, taken a necessary step in a measured and considered way to provide for the enforcement of that resolution. In so doing it sends a strong signal to the parties to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina that the Council will not tolerate violations of its resolutions and decisions.

As we see it, the sole objective of the Council in taking this and other decisions relating to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is to bring to an end the conflict in that country and provide the foundations for a durable peace. It is in that context that the New Zealand delegation looks to the signature by the Bosnian Serbs of the documents which have been placed on the table before them. The choice is theirs.

In adopting the resolution the Council is also declaring that there must, and will, be consequences if one of the parties to the conflict remains recalcitrant.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seised of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.